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child's paternal grandmother who threw them into the sea as she pronounced a charm (*ivi-atua*): "Ka oho, kangaro ki hiva!" (May it be lost in a foreign country!) Sometimes the cord was buried under stone, and a charm pronounced over it: "Ka noho hiohio koe i tooi kainga!" (May you stay strong in your country!) The land in which the umbilical cord was concealed was tapu; if anyone trod upon it, his legs were covered with white spots (*kino*). Ahu Hanga-varevare, near Tahai, is one of the places where navel cords were hidden. In 1886 Easter Island natives told Thomson that the people who walked over certain rocks near Ana-hoi-hangaroa were afflicted with sore feet. Thomson (215, p. 484) remarks, "We received many solemn warnings in regard to it."

Immediately after birth the child was washed in a large calabash filled with warm water heated with hot stones. According to Knoche (121, p. 660) hot, flat stones were applied to the stomach of the mother after childbirth, to keep the waist without folds. I heard no mention of this custom and the pitiful condition of young women after several childbirths does not testify to the efficiency of this precaution. A woman who has had children is called *heipara*. The same word applies to a plant which produces young shoots.

BIRTH FEAST

A feast was celebrated on the day of the child's birth (*te topanga*). The father's family presented a gift of food to the mother's family. As at the pregnancy feast, the woman ate first or, at her suggestion, her husband started the meal. It was forbidden to cook sweet potatoes in the oven. The oven was tapu and refuse was buried carefully in the ground. Two feasts were given for the first-born child only, whose name was given by the father's brother or sister.

CHILDHOOD

A small child, until he is 6 months old, is a *puepue*; at 6 months he becomes a *poki-tua-huri* (child-who-can-turn). When the child was 6 or 7 months old, his father's brother cut his hair with an obsidian point (*mataa*). At the same time a brother or cousin of his mother gave him a basket containing three or five chickens. This ceremony was called *puoko varu* (hair cutting). When the child began to creep, a maternal uncle gave him a basket with fowls (*kete hakaraka*, basket of crawling). Another present was given to him when he put on his first breechcloth of tapa (*hami-haka-hune*). At 8 or 10 years of age he was tattooed on his legs. At this time his maternal uncle offered him 20 or 30 fowls called *moa o te kona* (fowls for the legs) which became tapu; they could not be eaten by the family but could be traded to a foreigner or transferred to another family, according to the rules of the *koro* (p. 346).

The child was surrounded by many tapus. His head was considered sacred

- 784 and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food
778 that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

857 Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

173 Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so
562 that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public
855 later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. Accord-
515 ing to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed
302 (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with tur-
831 meric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatun*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to
173 have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according
554 to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years.
591 They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated
855 in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the
[731] smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart
[196] from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

[531] Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.
Tautau ipu kiesa o nga neru.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.

A te manava he mate,
Ka huru koe, neru e,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.

You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.

I am in love,
You are secluded, O *neru*,
Being secluded you have become white.

764 Most of the tombs we opened contained only one skeleton but collective burial was sometimes practiced. In a long narrow vault of a rectangular ahu under the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua we procured the bones of several individuals. Between La Pérouse and Ovahe is an ahu with vaults perpendicular to the sea which are filled with an incredible number of bones. Geiseler (87, p. 30) writes: "A burial is chosen by a family and kept by it for a long time. In order to make more room when other people die, all the bones of the dead are removed with the exception of the skulls." Thomson (215, p. 503) found in a vault of ahu Hanahakou (?), between Ahu-te-peu and ahu Ohau, many skulls, "and the surroundings excluded the idea of any other portions of the bodies having been interred with them." I found no vaults reserved exclusively for skulls.

Often the remains of the dead were scattered on or near the ahu. This custom explains the observation of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 294): "I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of these platforms, just covered with stones." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) "met with several pyramids of stone arranged nearly like balls in a park of artillery, and perceived some human bones in the neighborhood of the pyramids and statues, of which the latter had always their backs directed toward the sea." The decay of many ahus, even at the time of Captain Cook, might explain the presence of bones on the surface.

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688 The removal of the dead to the ahu probably ended the mourning period. While the body was exposed near the ahu, the surrounding region was under tapu; fishing was prohibited along the near-by shore and cooking was restricted. In principle, fire could not be lighted in the area under the interdiction, and smoke which was especially feared had to be hidden or smothered with grass. The symbol of the tapu was a pile of stones (*pipi hercko*) with a bleached stone on the top (p. 327). The penalty for breaking the tapu was death inflicted with a club. The spot marked by the tapu could not be approached in the daylight (?). (See 194, p. 232.)

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262 The funeral for a man was always the occasion for big banquets, concerning which I collected confusing evidence.

An earth oven called *umu ki te takapu o koro* (for the funeral of the father) was prepared by a brother or cousin of the deceased in behalf of the eldest son of the dead. Fowls were given to the brothers or cousins of the dead and were tied together in groups of ten before the ahu. On the day of death the eldest son and the family of the deceased made an earth oven. The widow also made a special earth oven with the help of her parents. The food was presented to the eldest son, who gave it to his father's brother or sister. The son did not eat anything and he delivered his own earth oven to his mother or his mother's family. Neither the son nor the daughter was allowed to partake of the first food. But on the same day, the brother of the dead, his father, or his mother, or some other relative prepared a special earth oven for the children of the dead who had not been allowed to eat the first food. The brothers-in-law could also make the earth oven called *takapu*. If there were no parents to make the *takapu*, the sons made an earth oven for themselves. The parents of a dead child could not eat the first *umu*. In Tepano's time the Easter Islanders still buried people in the ahu, but they did not let the bodies rot on the scaffolds.

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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

TAPU

The sacredness of the *ariki-man* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *haka-paapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore*, *kotea*, *pahika*, *teleme*, and *kahi* (tuna) were the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paupa* could touch it.

DRESS

The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, B).

According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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The following list gives the names of fish most commonly caught by the natives, under the methods used to capture them:

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- Hook fishing: Pei, big fish like tuna.
 Kahi, tuna fish.
 Miro, red fish with white tail.
 Tarakuere.
 Matahuira.
 Kopuku haharoa.
 Remoremo, very like the tuna.
 Poopoo (*Caranx cheilio*).
 Toremo.
 Kanakana.
 Kopuku (*Acanthistius fuscus*).
 Papara-uri.
 Mahaki (*Girellops nebulosus*), fished along shore by women.
 Nanue, yellow stripes, fished along shore by women.
 Ruhi.
 Mango, shark, palatable fish in old days; said also to have been speared.
 Aku (*dorado*).
 Ivi-heheu, swordfish.
 Koiro, conger eel.
- Net fishing: Kotea-hiva (*Labrichthys fuentesi*).
 Ature.
 Koreva (*Pseudomonocanthus paschalis*).
 Naumata-hauru.
 Nohu.
 Matuku.
 Vavare-pua-toro.
- Torch fishing: Marau.
 Nohu.
 Ihu.
 Aku.
 Mahaki.

During winter months—July, August, September—fishing was prohibited by a tapu and fish caught at that time were considered poisonous. This was true especially of the tuna (*kahi*) which was forbidden all the year round except in summer (230, vol. 6, p. 130). According to Roussel (190, p. 428) *kahi* were brought to the king or principal warriors (*mata-toa*). In more recent times tuna were allotted to the owner of the canoe and *pei* fish to his helpers. Several other kinds of fish were reserved for the *ariki*.

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During the tapu months only the royal canoe (*vaka vaero*) could be used for fishing, with a crew composed of important men (*tangata-honui*). *Kahi* fished at this time were given to the king and to the oldest *tangata-honui*. Those who ate fish during the winter were under tapu and were obliged to live in separate huts. Even their excrement was considered dangerous and apt to kill people.

Fishermen had charms which were given to them by the king or the *ariki-paka* (probably priests) and which they kept in small baskets. The amulets were stones shaped like fish or decorated with fish; some of them had bird

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coming of the Company ship or of the *Baquedano*. Winds and the mewing of cats are considered bad omens. A frigate bird (*makohe*) circling over a house foretells death for one of the inhabitants.

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TAPU

The persistence of the fear of tapu and of the precautions taken against infringing them indicates the importance of tapu in ancient religion and social organization. The violation of a tapu was an insult that could be avenged only with bloodshed. In fact, the missionaries found that the tapu belief was the only strong religious conviction against which they had to fight. They vitiated the power of the tapus by walking over sacred ground and pulling down tapu signs (230, vol. 6, p. 129). The most daring of the natives who were devoted to the missionaries did the same with no ill effects. An anecdote reported by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 130) reveals the earnestness with which the natives observed the tapus and the psychological effects produced by the sense of guilt after trespassing:

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The tapu affected several kinds of food and particularly a big fish called kahi, that is caught only during the four summer months. The eating of this fish was especially prohibited to women and children: some disease would have been the punishment of their audacity. In order to destroy this superstition we used to eat kahi in the presence of the people, but this was not a successful argument since the natives considered us as being tapu. Therefore after having given the example we would encourage the spectators to imitate us. To distract their minds from the fear that might have made them sick, we tried to amuse them in several ways. This method was very efficient. However, once they came to tell us that at the Pupuranga there was a boy, a Christian, called Reone (Leon) who was feeling very ill after having eaten kahi. I went to see him and I found him seized with convulsions. But, instead of taking his illness seriously, I made fun of him and twitted him with his ridiculous superstition. The other children laughed with me, then I told him to go play with them. He did as told and recovered.

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Scattered throughout the island may still be seen tapu signs consisting of small piles of stone "like balls in a park of artillery" (130, vol. 1, p. 79). Originally the top stones were painted white, but this has been washed off by rains (pl. 3, C). Such tapu signs, called *pipi hereko*, were noted by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296), La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 70), Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), Geiseler (87, p. 28), and other more recent visitors, though it is not always certain whether they refer in their descriptions to the tapu signs or to the semi-pyramidal ahus. Routledge (194, p. 232) believed that these cairns were memorials to the dead and that the tapu for the dead extended to them. However the cairns were the ordinary symbols for any tapu. Isolated cairns may have indicated boundaries of spots defiled by some impurity or sanctified by the mana of a chief or priest.

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Modern natives feel the sacred significance of the piles of stone and remember that they were erected to put the surrounding land under an interdict

784 (tapu-peera, rahui). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with ariki women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

643 The king (ariki-mau) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-
784 man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a
778 year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and
262 other ariki, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after
784 they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words rahui and tapu-peera refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the rahui was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a rahui. "This rahui consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

796 individual who assisted at the feast. At night the people at Orongo retired into the houses of their respective lineages. During the feast, if a group wanted to remain for a while in the house of the god, they had to put a circlet on the head of the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia (p. 298) which stood outside, and the people who had been there earlier left. (This rite as it is recorded here is meaningless.)

As September approached, the *hopu* on the islet paid increasing attention to the birds and spent all day reciting prayers or incantations. When they had reason to think that the birds had begun to lay eggs, they rushed out from the caves to look for them.

The *hopu* whose master was not designated by Makemake would step on an egg without seeing it, whereas the *hopu* of the candidate selected by the gods would see it immediately. As soon as he discovered the egg, he jumped on a stony prominence called Rangi-te-manu and from there he shouted, "So and so, puoko te varu (shave your head)." This announcement was heard by a man who kept watch in a cave below Orongo, called Haka-rongo-manu (Listening-for-the-birds).

796 Before returning to Orongo the unsuccessful *hopu* waited for the winner
482 lest the crossing of the channel be unsafe. The winning *hopu* put his egg in a
778 little basket which he dipped into the sea, and then tied to his forehead. The man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island. Being blessed by the gods and having with him an object overflowing with mana, he had little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with the protection of the gods, made the winning *hopu's* swimming not only safe but extremely fast.

796 At Orongo the *hopu* handed the egg to his employer who had in the mean-
time shaved his hair, his brows, and his eyelashes. A priest (Routledge says
302 a *rongorongo*, which is very unlikely) tied a strand of red tape and a piece
784 of sandalwood (*ngaungau*) around the bird-man's arm which was tapu from having received the egg. The priest recited a special incantation during the ceremony.

796 The relatives of the bird-man sang and danced (*hokohokā*), celebrating
their victory. The bird-man held the egg on the palm of his hand wherein
792 lay a piece of tapa (*haka epa*). He walked down the slopes of Rano-kao toward Mataveri, dancing and chanting. Tepano still remembered the tune of this chant, but unfortunately he did not know the words. It sounded
[533] like tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and "behaved like a god." He gave me the description as it had been given by the old men. "The men had dancing paddles (*rapa*) in their hands and they jumped with them. They wore on their heads wigs of women's hair, tapa headdresses or wreaths of *toro-miro* leaves. Tufts of women's hair hung be-

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hind. Everybody else carried so (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies." 796

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg: 792

The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture. 796
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Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena. 792

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that "... till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous." 792
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The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion. 792
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Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first 792
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Rokunga¹⁷, to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year. Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson."

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu.

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people.

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded.

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-lara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes:

It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.

Some of the young *manu-lara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

¹⁷ Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orohie in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past.

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people, both boys and girls, who resided in them for months, generously provided with all sorts of delicacies, but tales seem to indicate that adults also could enjoy the careless life of the *koro* houses. Certain tapus seem to have been enforced on the *koro*, and definite rules were observed in them; no religious ceremonies are mentioned apart from the consecration of the house by an *ariki*. 345 [784]

The host, whose own house was near the *koro*, supervised everything and enjoyed the sight of all the people having a good time. Food was distributed in abundance, and sometimes more than 10 earth ovens were cooking at the same time. The sweet potatoes and chickens which were served during the feast had been accumulated by the owner of the *koro* over a long period of time, and his relatives or friends contributed presents of food, given to him under the condition that some day he would help them on a similar occasion. The last day of the feast was especially gay, and when the rejoicings were over the *koro* house was pulled down with the aid of wooden carved lizards. (See 194, p. 234.) The poles which had been used in the *koro* construction were carefully guarded to be used for the next celebration. 574 [737]

The *koro* houses were supposed to be kept clean. Tradition tells of a *koro* house to which the *ariki* Tuu-ko-ihu was invited and which he left because he saw in it the excrement of a child: 574 514 539

They built a *koro* house in Ahu-a-pepe. They made a very long house. They had yams, sweet potatoes, and chickens. They lit the oven, they threw the food into it and cooked it. They sent a message to Tuu-ko-ihu to call him to this new *koro* where food was ready. A child defecated in the house. The king came and went in and spoke to the owner of the *koro*, "Now take out the food for the king, put in the sugar cane." The head of Oroï was hanging down in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu noticed it and recognized it, "Here is the head of Oroï," he said, "Rest here, your teeth used formerly to eat turtle meat in the foreign country of Marae-renga."

They gathered bananas in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu saw the excrement of the child. He could no longer eat sugar cane, banana, sweet potatoes, chicken, or fish. He got sick because of this excrement. Tuu-ko-ihu took the hanging head and went to his home. The people in the *koro* house said, "The king does not eat the food. Who took the head which was hanging down?" (The owner of the *koro* saw the excrement and said, "That's why the king did not eat. Stinking is the excrement of the child." He noticed then that the head was no longer there and that the king had taken it with him.)

The owner of the *koro* gathered chickens, fish, tuna fish, and eels, and enlisted the workers to help him to recover the head. They removed the stones, they dug the ground until they reached the house of Tuu-ko-ihu where the head had been buried. They dug everywhere, even under the seat of Tuu-ko-ihu. There they found the head and took it from the king.

The owner was working in a banana plantation. He saw a rat, chased it and digging in the hole of the rat found the skull (again).

AREAUTI

The *areauti* feast, held in fall and winter, was probably similar to the *koro*. For both feasts a special hut was erected, and both were given at the 574 345

many men he had killed in war, how many chickens he had stolen." A man named Kapiera told Routledge (194, pp. 251-252) that the earliest *tau* was made by an ancestor of Hotu-matua, the first king of the island. A large tablet contained a list of the lesser tablets "giving merely the name of each hero and the year of his *koro*." The names were enumerated and followed with figures corresponding to the year when the *koro* was celebrated. The numbers went to ten, then began again. "If there were two *koro* in a year, they came under the same numeral."

There was also a tablet for *ika* (murdered men). It was known to only one person, "who taught it to a pupil, and the two divided the island between them, the master taking the west and the north coast to Anakena and the pupil the remainder. A connected, or possibly the same tablet, was made at the instance of the relatives of the victim and helped to secure vengeance" (194, p. 248).

Some tablets dealt with ceremonies, and others were part of ceremonies themselves. They were in evidence at *koro*, where Nga-ara and the professors used to "pray for the father" and where a woman went onto the roof of the house holding the "*kohau-o-te-pure*" (prayer tablet). "In another case, a woman who wished to honour her father-in-law, and at the same time secure fertility, set up a pole round which she walked holding a child and a tablet, given her by Nga-ara while he and other *rongorongo* men who brought their *kohau* at his order stood by and sang" (194, p. 249). Thirteen subjects were dealt with in the tablets. No mention was made either to Routledge or me of genealogies, lists of *ariki*, or the wanderings of the people.

The tablets were said to be *tapu* and were handled only by the *rongorongo* men and their servants. When kept in the hut they were wrapped in mats and hung from the roof. During war they were regarded by the victorious party as valuable spoils.

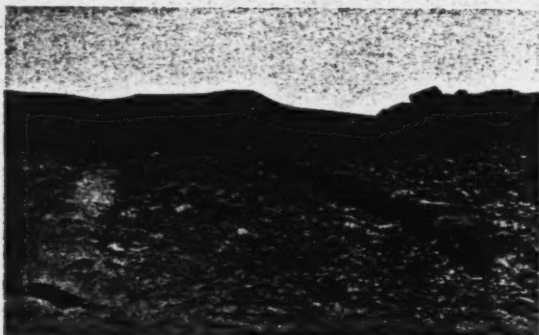
Tablets are first mentioned in 1864 by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71) who says they were found in almost every house although the natives did not understand their meaning and showed little respect for them. Several years later Zumbahm (230, vol. 6, p. 232) collected some tablets and attempted unsuccessfully to learn the meaning of the incised signs. He gathered the most learned natives who "seemed pleased" to see the tablet and told him its name. Then some started to read the page by "chanting." But others disagreed on the chant and the discouraged missionary gave up his inquiry. Roussel (190, p. 464) scarcely mentions the tablets and assumes that the characters never had a meaning. "The few natives who pretended to know them, recited when tested only ridiculous and meaningless tales." It is worth stressing that Roussel speaks of the tablets in connection with the native chants.

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OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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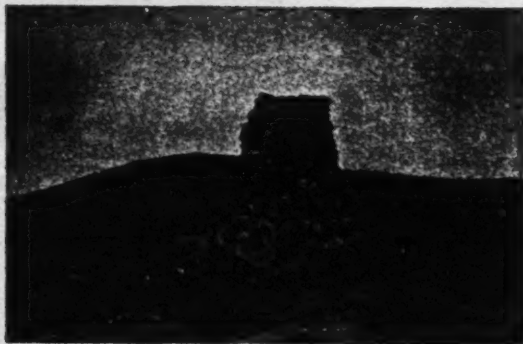
BULLETIN 160, PLATE 3



A



B



C

A, STONE FOUNDATION OF A HOUSE; B, STONE HOUSE AT ORONGO; C, TAPU
PILLAR (PIPI-HEREKO) NEAR AHU TONGA-RIKI ON THE SOUTH COAST.

[End Plate III.]

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852 completely clear to me if these small gifts had to be cooked in a pit oven, or *umu*,
 [431] or whether they were simply cooked food brought to this celebration, though I am
 inclined to feel that, considering the first ceremonial *umu*, they were probably
 especially prepared in a pit oven.

177 According to Jorge and Roberto, this ceremony is occasionally still performed
 431 as above but is gradually being supplanted by a modified version. This new pattern
 852 is best described by Jorge's plans for the celebration of a forthcoming first birth

in the family of one of his recently married sons. Jorge explained that, upon the
 birth of the child, he would make a "table" of gifts for his son's father-in-law, and
 the father-in-law, in turn, would make a gift table for Jorge. These they would
 exchange at a party, and the exchanged gifts would then be distributed among the
 [574] relatives of each father-in-law. The party, rather than being the traditional *umu*,
 would be a time when a little wine or liquor was served to the guests, and all
 would sing and dance during the evening. Whether or not Jorge would prepare the
 small *umu* for the first eating by the new mother could not be learned. Considering,

[114] however, that the Easter Islanders would feel that Chileans, and therefore all fore-
 eigners, would ridicule such a rite as superstitious, it is possible that Jorge's
 diffidence on the matter actually reflected a plan to carry out such a ritual, the
 fear of overt or covert ridicule on my part, however, forbidding his admitting it.

858 Although the sex of the first born does not appear to change the initial *umu*
 ceremony, there is ample evidence that the first born boy, whether or not he is the
 first child, not only stands in a special relationship to his father but to the powers
 of the supernatural world as well. From the day of his birth he is seen as being in
 a "very delicate" situation, to the extent that he is more easily subject to death than
 are his sisters and later born brothers. Owing to this situation he is treated in a
 special manner, is continually watched over, and is never allowed to go near such
 dangerous places as a rough beach or a high cliff. This delicate situation may con-
 tinue for many years and can only be dissipated, and then completely, upon the
 death of one of his brothers. Thus, the death of any one of the brothers (of a first
 born son) liberates the earliest born forever from his close companionship with
 death, and he is henceforth allowed to travel at will and carries no restrictions,
 except where his father is concerned.

593 Throughout life the first born son and his father must carefully observe certain

784 taboos in relation to one another. Neither, for example, may cut the other's hair,

858 for to do so would bring bad luck to the one whose hair was cut. Should the father
 get sick, the son must not approach him, since to do this would cause the father's
 death. The reverse is true in the event of illness befalling the first born son. No
 such taboos appear to hold for the parent-sib relationship of the other children of
 the family. This special relationship of the father and his first born son was de-

PRESENT-DAY EASTER ISLANDERS

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scribed by Jorge as follows: the father is the head (*mayer*) of the family while the first born son is the head of the children, thus the father and the first born son must stand in special relationship to one another and to the total family.

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ADOLESCENCE

There are no formal puberty rites existing on the island today, but the period at which a boy is said to become a man is reasonably well fixed in the minds of the people. According to Jorge and Roberto, in earlier days a boy did not become a man, nor did he do a man's work, until he reached the age of twenty, his time being occupied until then in play and fun. Today, however, most native children go to the Chilean-run school from the ages of nine until twelve, after which the boys, at least, are expected to start doing some work. Thus, when Juan Atan's wife became ill and he was unable to come to work, he sent his thirteen year old son to take his place. Although doing a full day's work at a man's job, this youth was consistently referred to as a *poki*, or boy. Some indication of when he would be regarded as a man was presented on the job one day. My workmen caught the boy examining one of the many pictographs at Orongo called *komari*, which stylistically depict a vulva. The men immediately began to joke him terrifically, and during the joking Jorge turned to me and remarked, "He will be ready for that in another two years." From this, it would appear that fifteen years of age may be taken as the approximate age for a young man to enter into mature sex relations and, in general, become a man.

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Further evidence along this line was brought forward during a discussion of who could, or could not, vote in the election of the three natives who stand as representatives of the people before the governor of the island. Among the natives there was no fixed age at which a person could vote, the consistent theme being that one could vote when one became a man. Asked if the Atan youth could vote, they informed me that he could not as he was still a *poki*. It was only after considerable questioning and discussion that my workers came to the conclusion that a person of approximately fifteen or sixteen years of age had reached the age of manhood and had the right to vote. An approximately similar age for womanhood appears to hold for girls, as well. At least a search of the government population records showed the earliest age for the marriage of girls was fifteen.

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COURTING

Unmarried girls from about fourteen or fifteen onward are given complete sexual freedom which does not begin and end with a possible suitor but is maintained with any passing boy friend. Such relationships are taken quite as casually

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794 the sea, is by a narrow passage through the thickness of
361 the wall, along which it is just possible to crawl. The
342 slabs opposite the doorway, and where consequently there
is a certain amount of light, are often painted; the ao
appears on them, also bird designs and frequently repre-
794 sentations of European ships. In the middle of the village
361 is the house in which stood the image now at the British
532 Museum, the front of which had to be broken down before
the statue could be removed. The image is typical in
form, but to find one under cover and in such a position
is absolutely unique; its name, "Hoa-haka-nanaia," is
roughly translated as "the wave turns over and breaks";
the word Taura-renga is also associated with it, some-
times being applied to the house and sometimes to the
image. The village terminates as it approaches the
narrowest part of the cliff amongst a number of carved
rocks, between which a semicircle of small houses have
been built; in some cases the houses cover the carving,
794 which is evidently the older. These dwellings were occupied
538 during the festival by the "tangata rongo-rongo," or the
men who recited from the hieroglyphic tablets which form
one of the mysteries of the island; half the houses were
apportioned to the savants from Kotuu, the other half
to those from Hotu-iti. "They chanted all day; they
stopped an hour to eat, that was all." This group of rocks
and dwellings is known as "Mata-ngarau," and was taboo
during the festival to the common herd.

794 There are in the whole settlement forty-six houses,
[261] of which many are practically intact, while others have
been ruined in the endeavour to obtain the painted slabs
within. The Ao spent the time while awaiting the birds
in dancing each day in front of the buildings, food being
brought to them from below, where, according to one
authority, a friendly clan kept watch at Mataveru. A
short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a
cave known as "Haka-ronga-manu," or "The cave of

[794] or a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo.

[792] The egg which was still kept on tappa was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho," and if it was not worn the "spirits would be angry."

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The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man, who was called an iviatua, but was of an inferior type from the one gifted with prophecy and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking places, as even he might not share that of the Bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The

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[784] Bird-man's wife came to Raraku but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house nor he hers on pain of death. A few yards below

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the bird-house is an "ahu" or burial place; it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain with the ground above levelled and paved; it was reserved for the burial of bird-men; corpses in Easter Island were frequently exposed, not buried, but a bird-man was an uncanny person whose ghost might do unpleasant things, he was safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is

given to the whole of this corner of the mountain with its houses, its ahu and its statues. As the Bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house there stretched away in front of him the low rocky coast marked by a white line of surf and ending in the swelling side and precipitous cliff of Rano Kao, the scene of his triumph. Above him, as he sat there, were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood

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The Bird Cult of Easter Island. 349

for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Mata-toa he could come to Orohié, but he might also reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand as that had taken the egg. Gifts of food were supplied for three months by his late employer, but he could not eat them on pain of death; they were therefore forwarded to others. The same rule applied to any present from the hopu to the bird-man. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Mata-toa had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri, the egg being, it was said, handed to them for a few minutes as a sign of succession. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month; on their return they laid plentifully and as soon as the nestlings were hatched the Mata-toa carried them to the mainland, swimming with them in baskets bound round the forehead after the manner of the first egg. They were then taken in procession round the island, or, according to another account, as far as Orohié. It was not until the "piu" had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the egg, the period of commencement being known as "Toro," and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to god, to eat them would prove fatal. Some of the young manu-tara were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied round the wing and leg and they were

A TYPICAL IMAGE AHU

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on these transverse bars were placed the extremities of the bundle which wrapped the corpse. The description and sketch are based on a model framework, and a wrapped-up figure, one of the wooden images of the island, prepared by the natives to amplify their verbal description.¹ At times, instead of the four supports, two stones were used with a hole in each, into which a Y-shaped stick was placed (fig. 38). While the corpse remained on the ahu the district was marked off by the péra, or taboo, for the dead; no fishing was allowed near, and fires and cooking were forbidden within certain marks—the smoke, at any rate, must be hidden or smothered with grass. Watch was kept by four relatives, and anyone breaking the regulations was liable to be brained. The mourning might last one, two, or even three years, by which time the whole thing had, of course, fallen to pieces. The bones were either left on the ahu, or collected and put into vaults of oblong shape, which were kept for the family, or they might be buried elsewhere. The end of the mourning was celebrated by a great feast, after which ceremony, as one recorder cheerfully concluded, "Pappa was finished."

Looked at from the landward side, we may, therefore, conceive an ahu as a vast theatre stage, of which the floor runs gradually upwards from the footlights. The back of the stage, which is thus the highest part, is occupied by a great terrace, on which are set up in line the giant images, each one well separated from his neighbour, and all facing the spectator. Irrespective of where he stands he will ever see them towering above him, clear cut out against a turquoise sky. In front of them are the remains of the departed. Unseen, on the farther side of the terrace, is the sea. The stone giants, and the faithful dead over whom they watch, are never without music, as countless waves launch their strength against the pebbled shore, showering on the figures a cloud of mist and spray.

Reconstruction and Transformation.—Those which have been described are ideal image ahu, but not one now remains in its original condition. It is by no means unusual to find, even in the oldest parts now existing, that is in walls erected to carry statues, pieces of still older images built into the stonework; in one case a whole statue has been used as a slab for the sea-wall,

¹ The body was no doubt supported by staves, though they were dispensed with in the model, being unnecessary for the wooden figure.

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204 PRE-CHRISTIAN CULTURE

532 idols,¹ from which it may be gathered that the great majority were still erect. The figures were, they tell us, all set up on small stones, and burying-places were in front. It is interesting, in view of what we know of the prohibition of smoke near the *ahu*,² to find one of the Spanish writing: "They could not bear us to smoke cigars; they begged our sailors to extinguish them, and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what this meant."³ Cook's people observed that the natives disliked these burying-places being walked over, but whereas Roggeveen was convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that the cult of the statues was what we should call "a going concern," Cook, fifty years later, is equally certain that it is a thing of the past; some of the figures are still standing, but some are fallen down, and the inhabitants "do not even trouble to repair the foundations of those which are going to decay." "The giant statues," he says, "are not in my opinion looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they may have been in the days of the Dutch." Forster also remarks that "they are so disproportionate to the strength of the nation, it is most reasonable to look upon them as the remains of better times." La Pérouse does not agree with this last sentiment; he admits that at present the monuments are not respected, but he sees no reason why they should not still be made even under existing conditions; he thinks that a hundred people would be sufficient to put one of the statues in place. The objection he sees is that the people have no chief great enough to secure such a memorial. It is unfortunate that the mountain of Rano Raraku is so far removed from both the north and west anchorages, that none of the voyagers discovered it, although Cook's men were very near that from which the crowns were obtained.

127 In the nineteenth century we have a few accounts from passing voyagers. Lisiansky, in 1804, found no people with long ears,⁴ but in 1825 Beechey in H.M.S. *Blossom* says that there were still a few to be seen. With regard to the statues, the process of

¹ MS. copy in the British Museum of a letter sent by one of the officers of the Spanish ship to a Canon or a Prebendary in Buenos Aires. MSS. 17607 (18). Our attention was drawn to this document by Dr. Corney.

² See above, p. 171.

³ *Voyage of Gonsales*, p. 126.

⁴ *Voyage Round the World in the Ship "Neve"*, Lisiansky, Lond. 1814, p. 38.

766 In order to evade the enemy. (One of the nephews, who had been of the party when the final statues were overthrown, had met with a tragic end, being drowned by catching his hand in a rock when diving for lobsters under water.) With the exception of those near the standing statues, we practically never found an earth burial. This seems to account for the exaggerated estimates of the number of human remains on the island; it is doubtful if even five hundred skulls could be collected, but, whether in caves or ruined ahu, a large proportion of those which exist are very much in evidence.

764 Memorials of the dead were erected in various places independently of the actual locality where the corpse rested. Some of these were simply mounds of earth, which can be seen on various hills; there is a regular succession on the landward rim of the Raraku crater, opposite to the great cliff, but one at least of these was a memorial to a man whose body had been disposed of in the clefts of the cliff. Others of these independent memorials were in the shape of cairns about 6 feet in height, known as "pipl-hereko," and were formerly surmounted by a white stone. Many of them still exist, and they are particularly numerous on the high ground above Anakena Cove. The locality was chosen as one which was but little inhabited, for the taboo for the dead (or pera) extended to them, and no one went near them in the daylight, on penalty of being stoned, till the period of mourning had been terminated with the usual feast. Various voyagers commented on these cairns, which were marked objects, and Cook thinks that they may have been put up instead of statues.

539 It would seem by the following tale, which imposes a somewhat severe strain on the European imagination, that piles of stones had in the native mind a certain resemblance to the human figure. "There was once an old lady who had an arm so long that it could have reached right across the island. She was a bad old woman, and once a month had a child to eat, so a certain man determined to put an end to her power for doing harm. He took her out in a boat to fish, first telling his small son to collect stones, and after they had gone to put them in piles in front of the house of the woman, and also to make a fire and much smoke. When the canoe had got out to sea, he looked back and found the boy had done as he was told, and glimpses of the cairns could be seen among the clouds of smoke. Then

THE MIRU CLAN

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to a relative, who was the father of an old man from whom we managed to obtain it. When the time came to hand it over to us, the late owner began to cling to it affectionately, and say that he "wept much at the thought of its going to England"; as, however, the bargain had already been completed, we remained obdurate, and at the time of writing Hotu resides with Ko Tori at the Royal College of Surgeons. 614 789

The Miru were unique in other ways; they were the only group which had a headman or chief, who was known as the "ariki," or sometimes as the "ariki-mau," the great chief, to distinguish him from the "ariki-paka," a term which seems to have been given to all other members of the clan.¹ The office of ariki-mau was hereditary, and he was the only man who was obliged to marry into his own clan. It was customary when he was old and feeble that he should resign in favour of his son. There are various lists of the succession of chiefs, counted from the first immigrant, Hotu-matua. The oldest lists are those given by Bishop Jaussen² and by Admiral Lapelin,³ which contain some thirty names. Thomson gives one with fifty-seven. In our day there was admittedly much uncertainty about the sequence, but the number was said to be thirty,⁴ and two independent lists were obtained. All these categories differ, though they contain many of the same names, particularly at the beginning and end. [582]

The last man to fill the post of ariki with its original dignity was Ngaara; he died shortly before the Peruvian raid, and becomes a very real personage to anyone inquiring into the history of the island. He was short, and very stout, with white skin, as had all his family, but so heavily tattooed as to look black. He wore feather hats of various descriptions, and was hung round both back and front with little wooden ornaments, which jingled as he walked. When our authorities can remember him his wife was dead and he lived with his son Kaimokoi. It was not permitted to see them eat, and no one but the servants was allowed to enter the house. His headquarters were at Anakena, the cove on the island where, according to tradition, the first canoe landed. 614 622 792 [784] [173]

¹ Evidence on this head was rather contradictory, but no Miru could be found, male or female, to whom the title was not given.

² "L'île de Paques," M. Tépato Jaussen, *Bulletin Géographique*, 1893, p. 242.

³ *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vol. xxxv, p. 109.

⁴ Thirty is, however, a very favourite number: cf. the folk-tales.

212 used "to send him to the chickens." Juan had had the offer of learning one form of such script, but, not unnaturally, had looked upon it with some contempt, preferring European accomplishments. The information which could be gathered was, therefore, with one exception, which will be noted later, simply that of the layman, or man in the street, who had been aware of the existence of the art and seen it going on around him, but had no personal knowledge.

[463] The tablets were of all sizes up to 6 feet. It was a picturesque
614 sight to see an old man pick up a piece of banana-stem, larger than himself, from among the grove in which we were talking, and stagger along with it to show what it meant to carry a tablet, though, as he explained, the sides of the tablet were flat, not round like the stem. It is said that the original symbols were brought to the island by the first-comers, and that they were on "paper," that when the paper was done, their ancestors made them from the banana plant, and when it was found that [413] withered they resorted to wood. Every clan had professors in the art who were known as rongo-rongo men ("tangata-rongo-rongo"). They had houses apart, the sites of which are shown in various localities. Here they practised their calling, often sitting and working with their pupils in the shade of the bananas; their wives had separate establishments. In writing, the incision was made with a shark's tooth: the beginners worked on the outer sheaths of banana-stems, and later were promoted to use the wood known as "toro-miro."¹

The glyphs are, as will be seen, so arranged that when the figures of one row are right way up, those of the one immediately below it are on their heads; thus only alternate rows can, at the same time, be seen in correct position (fig. 98). The method of reading was, according to Te Haha, to read one row from left to right, then come back reading the next from right to left, the method known as boustrophedon, from the manner in which an ox ploughs a furrow. The finished ones were wrapped in reeds and hung up in the houses. According to two independent [784] authorities they could only be touched by the professors or their servants, and were taboo to the uninitiated, which, however, does not quite agree with other statements, nor with that of the missionaries that they were to be found in "every house." They

¹ Sophora Toromiro.

212 trates interestingly the general method of condensation in which, even in the recitations, a few words assume or implicate extended knowledge. It ran thus, "Of Kao the year nine," "Ngakurariha the eldest"; then come five men's names followed by the name of a fish; then a doubtful word; then "that side island my place." "I see Ngakurariha at the koro." The story, as explained; was that Kao, a man of Vinapu on the south coast, and Ngakurariha, his eldest son, went to Mahatua on the north side and stayed with the five men whose names are given, who were brothers, and learnt from them the tau. Having done this, they proceeded to murder them, and went and took a fish, then returned to Rano Kao, made a koro and the tau.

[784] The tau was, it was said, originally made by an ancestor of the first immigrant chief, Hotu-matua; it was not taboo in the same way as the other rongo-rongo, and was not known to Ngaara. There were, about the beginning of last century, only three personages acquainted with it. One was Omatohi, a Tupahotu, whose son, Tea-a-tea, was Tomenika's foster-father and instructor in the art. It was said by Tomenika himself and by others that he "only knew part," and there were other signs with which he was not acquainted, for his foster-father had died before he knew all.

A great effort was subsequently made to get further information from Tomenika, more particularly as to the exact method of writing, but he was back in his hut very ill, and all conversation had once more to be done through the doorway. Every way that could be thought of was tried to elicit information, but without real success. He did draw two fresh symbols, saying first they were "new" and then "old," and stating they represented the man who gave the koro, but "there was no sign meaning a man." "He did not know that for ariki, the old men did," "the words were new, but the letters were old," "each line represented a koro." An attempt to get him to reproduce any tau made by himself was a failure. The answers, on the whole, were so wandering and contradictory, that after a second visit under those conditions, making five in all, the prospect of getting anything further of material value did not seem sufficient to justify the risks to others, however slight. As the last interview drew to a close, I left the hut for a moment, and leant against the wall outside, racking my brains to see if there was any

796 of whom Viriamo was one. The group of houses at the end among the carved rocks was taboo during the festival, for they [784] were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu Iti, the eastern to those from Kotuu. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." They came at the command of Ngaara, but it is noteworthy that he himself never appeared at Orongo, though he sometimes paid a friendly call at Mataveri.

A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-rongo-manu," or "listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

796 The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Ao, but the right to be one of 787 the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "ivi-atua," a divinely gifted individual, of the kind who had [791] the gift of prophecy, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man, or "tangata-manu." The victor, on being successful, was ordered to

[553] take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson. If a man did not win, he might try again, or say that [805] "the ivi-atua was a liar," and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the ivi-atua might be male or female, and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four "gods" connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-také-také, who was "chief of the eggs," and Maké-maké, both of whom 796 were males; there were also two females, Vie Hoa, the wife of 776 Hawa, and Vie Kenatea. Each of these four had a servant, whose names were given, and who were also supernatural beings. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake.

796 The actual competitors were men of importance, and spent their time with the remainder of the Ao in the stone houses of the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below. These men, who were known as

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attitude with the hands held up, and is carved at every size and angle according to the surface of the rock (fig. 110). It can still be counted one hundred and eleven times, and many specimens must have disappeared: all knowledge of its meaning is lost. The figure may have represented one of the egg gods, but it seems more probable that each one was a memorial to a bird-man; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that in at least three of the carvings the hand is holding an egg (fig. 112). The history of another figure, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalised by having one of these small figures ("Ko Mari") cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know, therefore, that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.¹

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand palm upwards, resting it 'on a piece of tapa, and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the south coast, a procedure which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg. If, however, the winner belonged to the western clans, he generally went to Anakena for the next stage, very possibly because, as was explained, he was afraid to go to Hotu Iti; some victors also went to special houses in their own district, otherwise the company went along the southern shore till they reached Rano Raraku.

Amongst the statues standing on its exterior slope, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house (no. 7, fig. 60). This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and here the bird-man remained for a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg, which was still kept on tapa, was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash, and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho,"

¹ The figures of the bird-man, also of the so and Ko Mari, are all roughly carved on the back of the Orongo statue (fig. 106). They appear, like those on the Raraku image, to be later workmanship than the raised ring and pirdle. Permission to inspect can be obtained in the hall of the British Museum; unfortunately the light in the portico is bad.

796 and if it was not worn the aku-aku would be angry. The house
 [293] was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man
 [784] who was called an ivi-atua, but was of an inferior type to the
 one gifted with prophecy, and apparently merely a poor relation
 of the hero; there were two cooking-places, as even he might
 not share that of the bird-man. Food was brought as gifts,
 especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have
 been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did
 not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The bird-
 [431] man's wife came to Raraku, but dwelt apart, as for the first five
 [688] months she could not enter her husband's house, nor he hers, on
 [834] pain of death. A few yards below the bird-man's house is the ahu
 alluded to on p. 191 (fig. 60); it consists merely of a low rough
 wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled
 and paved. It was reserved for the burial of bird-men; they were
 the uncanny persons whose ghosts might do unpleasant things—
 they were safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given
 to the whole of this corner of the mountain, with its houses, its
 ahu, and its statues. To this point the figures led which
 were round the base of the hill. If they were re-erected, they
 would stand with their backs not to the mountain, but to Orohié.¹
 As the bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house,
 above him were the quarries with their unfinished work, below
 him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every
 hand giant images stood for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult
 to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain
 those of bird-men?

[784] The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Ao, he
 could come to Orohié, but he might, if he wished, reside in his
 own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through
 which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right
 hand, as that had taken the egg. His wife and children were
 also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Ao had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri.
 From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to
 Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their
 cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first
 egg was laid, they absented themselves from the islet for a period
 varying reported as from three days to a month. On their

¹ Nos. 1, 2, and 3, fig. 60, form part of this series. See also fig. 74.